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ABSTRACT

Data from eleven different languages were collected to study the uses of deictic verbs of motion in order to discover possible universals for the semantics of such verbs. The languages, many of them unrelated or distantly related, are: Croatian, English, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Mandarin, Nepali, Spanish, Tamil, Thai, and Turkish. Native speakers were asked to produce sentences in their languages according to the format described in Gathercole (1977). An analysis of the uses of "come" and "go" is presented. It is concluded that the uses of deictic verbs in the languages can be specified in terms of a small number of semantic components, some of which are assertional and some of which are presuppositional. Future research is needed to determine to what extent these components are universal and why, in any given language, a particular subset of these components for "come" and "go" is used. (SW)

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TOWARDS A UNIVERSAL FOR DEICTIC VERBS OF MOTION

Virginia C. Gathercole

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Studies on deictic verbs are not very numerous, and those few that are available focus on the use of the relevant verbs in a particular language (e.g., Fillmore 1966, 1971, Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976, Sinha 1972) or on some particular interesting feature related to these verbs (e.g., Binnick 1971, Clark 1974). The scarcity of studies, and, in particular, cross-linguistic studies, on deictic verbs reflects the fact that the contrasts involved are not easily gleaned from the surface. In many contexts, the choice of deictic verb depends entirely on the point of view of the speaker and what he presupposes to be true in that context. Thus, to capture the difference between the particular deictic verbs used in a language, one must either study great masses of written materials, examining each context thoroughly for what happened previous to and subsequent to an utterance containing the verb or rely on the intuitions of native speakers as to the appropriateness of a verb in a particular context. Despite the difficulties associated with relying on native-speaker intuitions, it is at this point the more desirable alternative for arriving at some understanding of the uses of deictic verbs in several languages so that we may be able to discover possible universals for the semantics of such verbs. To this end, I have collected data from eleven different languages, many of them unrelated, or distantly related. The eleven languages are Croatian, English, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Mandarin, Nepali, Spanish, Tamil, Thai, and Turkish.[1] Native speakers were asked to produce sentences in their languages according to the format described in Gathercole 1977. Drawing on their responses and relying on the general consistency of the speakers' intuitions, we can approach a definition of the universal features associated with the semantics of deictic verbs.

"Deictic verbs of motion" are verbs of motion which require contextualization, such that the "context is defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed."[2] Before considering the contextualization of these verbs, we must first group them with other verbs of motion. A provocative model for the semantics of motion can be found in Talmy's "Semantics and Syntax of Motion" (Talmy 1975). Talmy proposes there that the motion situation (S_M) can be symbolized as having the deep semantic components "FIGURE + MOTION + PATH + GROUND." "FIGURE" (F) refers to "the object that is considered as moving or located with respect to another object," "MOTION" (M) represents "the moving or located state that one object is considered to be in with respect to another object," "PATH" (P) is "the respect in

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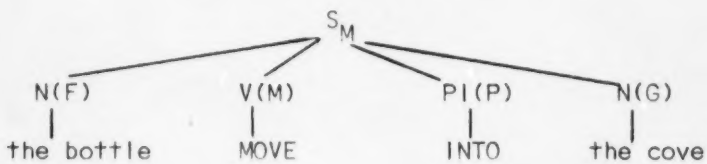
which one object is considered as moving or located to another object," and "GROUND" (G) is "the object with respect to which a first object is considered as moving or located."[3] The FIGURE-specifying and GROUND-specifying constituents are NOMINALs (N), the MOTION-specifying constituent is a VERB (BE_L ('be-located') and MOVE are an exhaustive list of the members of the set), and the PATH-specifying constituent is PREPOSITIONAL (PI) (including post-positions and affixes).

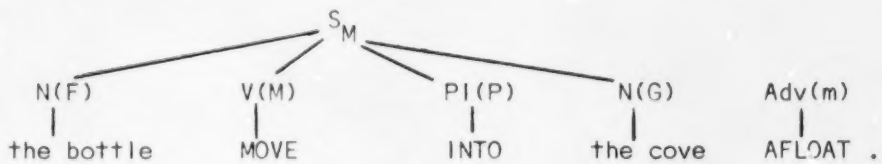
An example of an underlying S_M, with the FIGURE and the GROUND particularized (lexicalized) appears in 1:

1.



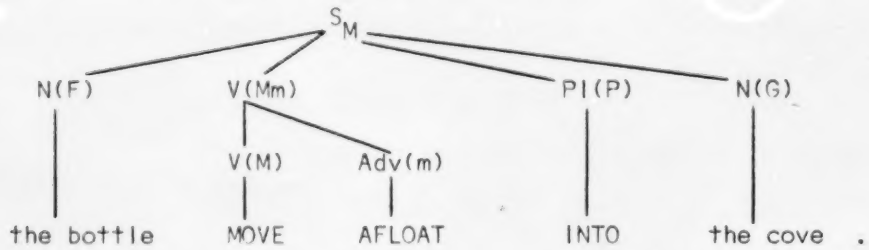
When the manner-specifying deep adverb AFLOAT moves in from an external source, we have 2:

2.



In a given language, it might be possible for two of the deep semantic components to be combined and then particularized as a single lexical item. For example, in English, it is common for a manner adverb to be adjoined to a motion verb, becoming a "SATELLITE" to that verb, as in 3:

3.



The two semantic components of V(Mm) then "conflate"[4] into the lexical item "float," yielding "(the bottle $_M$float into the cove)," which, with tense, becomes "the bottle floated into the cove."

Talmy offers some MOTION / LOCATION STRUCTURES that are more specific than this general structure. Among them are the following two:

4. a $POINT_S$ MOVE TO a $POINT_S$ (at a $POINT_T$)

and

5. a $POINT_S$ MOVE FROM a $POINT_S$ (at a $POINT_T$),

where $POINT_{S,T}$ specifies a point of space, time. To some extent, but only on a grossly simplified level, we might say that structure 4 is that of the verb "come" and structure 5 that of "go."[5] Fillmore (1971) points out that come is intimately connected with the goal of motion, and go with the source of motion. He observes, for example, that one can say "Where did he go?" but not "Where did he come?" Similarly, "He went to somewhere" and "He came to somewhere" are unacceptable because go always involves motion "from somewhere" and come motion "to somewhere."

Structures 4 and 5, however, are not the exact formulations needed for the conditions for the uses of the verbs "come" and "go" in a language. Talmy suggests in passing that "the adjunction of HITHER with GO . . . [keys] the insertion of come,"[6] so that GO + HITHER conflates into come. It is easily seen that this treatment of the lexical item "come" will prove inadequate. In an English sentence like "Can I come over to where you are?" the rule GO + HITHER = come does not work, for the motion is not HITHER at all, but come is perfectly acceptable. To treat motion verbs of deixis, we must revise Talmy's model somewhat. Using it as an otherwise solid base, perhaps we can build up a structure for MOTION that includes the semantics of deictic verbs along with the other verbs of motion.

One problem for deictic verbs in Talmy's model is that the structures appear to only include assertional elements. In order to treat "come" and "go," the model must be expanded to include a presuppositional component. This is particularly true for structure 4 above, which sometimes corresponds to "come" and sometimes to "go." Structure 5 is less problematic in that it can only be particularized with "go," never with "come." For this reason, our discussion will focus primarily on 4, which, for convenience, we will rewrite with the Case Grammar notion of GOAL as in 6:

6. X MOVE TO GOAL (at T_i),

where T_i specifies a point in time.

For the sake of exposition, let us divide up the contexts in which "come" and "go" are used into (a) those in which the personal center of motion (the speaker or addressee) is located at the GOAL at the time of utterance, and (b) those in which he is not located at the GOAL at the time of utterance. I will refer to the former as "immediate deixis" and the latter as "extended deixis."

Immediate Deixis

In immediate deixis, the relevant potential presuppositions involve the presence (or absence) of the speaker or hearer at the GOAL at the

time of utterance (T_u). This can be represented as in 7.

7.

Assertion:	X	MOVE	TO	GOAL	(at T_i)
Potential Presuppositions:				(+speaker presence, T_u) (+addressee presence, T_u)	

The presuppositional elements of 7 are not both operative in every language, but each of them is operative in some language.

To get to a surface level containing one of the deictic verbs of a language, one or more of the presuppositional components of 7 is adjoined to the verb MOVE, and they together conflate into the verb "come" or "go." Several languages studied here use "come" when either of the presuppositions attached to the GOAL is adjoined to MOVE. That is, "come" is used for motion towards the speaker or the hearer, and "go" otherwise. This is the case for English come and go, Turkish gel- and git-, German kommen and gehen, Nepali aunu and jānu, Tamil wa- and poh-, and, in general, Croatian doći and ići.

In Croatian, there is an exception to this rule. The verb for "go," ići, can sometimes be used in contexts where the speaker or addressee is located at the goal. For example, when at home, I could ask you 8 or 9.

8. Hoćeš li doći k meni ?
you will QM come to me
"Will you come to my house?"

9. Hoćeš li ići k meni ?
go
"Will you go to my house?"

The difference between the two in meaning has to do with the emphasis on arriving at my house versus ongoing movement away from your house. The reasons for the acceptance of ići in this context are not entirely clear to me, but they appear to be related to the fact that ići is a verb of imperfective aspect, and doći of perfective aspect. Hence, ići focuses on the ongoing movement, and doći on the completion of the action. When there is a strong interest in arrival at the GOAL, then ići becomes unacceptable. Also, the perfective otići ("go") is not allowed in 9 above.

A second prominent use of "come" in immediate deixis makes use only of the presupposition of the presence of the speaker at the GOAL at the time of utterance -- i.e., "come" is used for motion towards the speaker

(but not towards the addressee), and "go" otherwise. This is true for Spanish venir and ir, Japanese kuru and iku, Thai mah and pai, and possibly Mandarin lai and ch'ù. (One speaker places Mandarin in the previous group.) One exception for Thai is that there appears to be a discourse rule which allows mah to be used for motion towards the addressee if that particular lexical item has been used previously in the discourse. For example, in the following exchange, mah is acceptable in sentence b.

10. a. ja mah tì bàn diyóo nĭ máy
Fut. come to house now QM
"Will you come to my house now?"

b. mah
come
"I'm coming."

The third, and last, possibility for the lexicalization of deep components into "come" or "go" in immediate deixis is much less prominent. That is the use of "come" and "go" without any presuppositional elements at all. We find this in Indonesian, where datang ("come") is the conflation of MOVE + TO GOAL and pergi ("go") is the conflation of MOVE + FROM SOURCE. This is apparent, e.g., in contexts where the speaker is at home and is talking on the telephone to someone located at that person's house. In such a context, the speaker can say 11 or 12.

11. Apakah kamu akan {datang / pergi} ke rumah - ku ?
QM you Fut. {come / go} to house my
"Will you come/go to my house?"

12. Saya akan {datang / pergi} ke rumah saudara.
I Fut. {come / go} to house you
"I will come/go to your house."

The only difference between the sentences with datang and those with pergi is that in the former, the emphasis is on the mover's arrival at the GOAL, while in the latter, the emphasis is on the mover's leaving the place where he is located, the SOURCE. The fact that these two verbs are used to mean essentially the same thing in both 11 and 12 is supported by the fact that the verbs can be, and normally are, omitted from either sentence without changing the meaning.[7]

Extended Deixis

The uses of "come" and "go" in non-immediate contexts is much

more complex. The relevant assertional components are the same as in immediate deixis. The possible presuppositional factors include (+accompanied by speaker), (+accompanied by addressee), (+presence of speaker at the time of reference (T_r)), (+presence of addressee at T_r), (+speaker participation with mover), (+addressee participation with mover), (+speaker identification with GOAL), and (+addressee identification with GOAL). In addition to these, it appears necessary to add some, perhaps quite flexible, features of intimacy, imminency, and physical closeness to these presuppositional features as elements that are always available -- especially, perhaps, in marginal cases. We could symbolize these potential components, accessible for any language, as in 13.

13.

Assertion:	X	MOVE	TO	GOAL	(at T_i)
Potential Presuppositions:	(+acc. by speaker)			(+speaker presence at T_r)	
	(+acc. by addressee)			(+addressee presence at T_r)	
				(+speaker participation at T_r)	
				(+addressee participation at T_r)	
				(+speaker identification at T_r)	
				(+addressee identification at T_r)	
	/+intimate/			/+close/	/+imminent/

The first observation to be made about which of these features become relevant in any particular language is that those languages which allow only the speaker as deictic center in immediate deixis allow only the speaker to be involved presuppositionally in extended deixis. Those languages which allow the addressee as center in immediate deixis also allow the addressee to be involved presuppositionally in extended deixis.

Let us first examine the presuppositional components available in relation to the GOAL of motion. The first of these is the presupposition that the speaker (or addressee) will be at the GOAL at the time in question. Among those languages that allow this presupposition to be adjoined to MOVE to produce "come" are Indonesian, English, German, Croatian, and Tamil. In all of these, the presupposition can concern the presence of either the speaker or the addressee. However, if the presupposition is that the addressee will be located at the GOAL at T_r, then the assertion must be about the speaker in order for "come" to be used. If it is presupposed that the addressee will be at the GOAL at T_r, but the speaker will not, then a sentence like 14 is not acceptable.

14. * Is John coming to the movie?

Some of the languages which do not permit "come" when only the speaker's presence or the addressee's presence at the GOAL is presupposed do allow "come" if this presupposition is combined with one or another of the other possible presuppositions of extended deixis. For example, Spanish allows venir when the speaker will be located at the GOAL at T_r and identifies with the place in question or the action to take place there. For example, one could say 15,

15. ¿Viene Juan a tu casa esta noche?
"Is Juan coming to your house tonight?"

in a situation in which the addressee is going to have a party tonight and the speaker will be going and will be helping in the preparations for the party. If only one of these two presuppositions is present, then ir will be used instead. For example, if the only presupposition present is that the speaker will be at the addressee's house tonight, without the second presupposition, he would be more likely to say 16.

16. ¿Va Juan a tu casa esta noche?
"Is Juan going to your house tonight?"

If the only presupposition present is the speaker identification with the place of reference, or the action to take place there, then venir is unacceptable, as in 17 and 18.

17. * No estaré yo, pero ven a la casa esta tarde a limpiarla.
"I won't be home, but come this afternoon to clean the house."

18. * Siento que no estuviera nadie anoche cuando viniste a mi casa.
"I'm sorry nobody was at home last night when you came to my house."

The second set of presuppositions attached to the GOAL are those presuppositions of the speaker's or addressee's participation with the "mover" at the place of reference, at T_r. The only language here that

allows this presupposition to conflate with MOVE into "come" is Turkish. This fact may be related to the fact that Turkish is the only language here that allows the verb "come" to be used in a context in which the addressee (and not the speaker) is presupposed to be involved and the assertion is about a third party. Turkish allows, e.g.,

19. John sinema - y - a gel - iyor - mu ?
cinema to come Prog. QM
"Is John coming to the cinema?"

under these conditions, while the other languages ordinarily do not.

Besides these two sets of presuppositions relevant to the GOAL, there is one more set, that of the presupposition of the speaker's (or hearer's) identification with the GOAL. The conflation of MOVE + the presupposition (+speaker identification with the GOAL) into "come" is most prominent in Japanese. Kuru ("come") is preferred in a sentence like 20, even when it is known that the speaker will not be at home tonight.

20. KoNbaN (anata wa) watashi no uchi ni kimasu ka ?
tonight you Top. I Poss. house to come QM
"Are you coming to my house tonight?"

Likewise, if I am the manager of a theater, even if I will not be at the theater tonight, I can say to you 21 or 22.

21. KoNbaN eiga ni kimasu ka ?
tonight movie to come QM
"Are you coming to the movie tonight?"

22. John wa eiga ni kitai N' desu ka ?
Top. movie to come desire QM
"Does John want to come to the movie tonight?"

Similarly, if I identify with you, I can ask you

23. John wa anata no uchi ni kimasu ka ?
Top. you Poss. house to come QM
"Is John coming to your house?"

Note that in 23 I do not have to be involved in the movement in any other way than my identification with you, who are at the GOAL of the movement.

The presupposition of speaker (or hearer) identification with the GOAL is much less prominent in the other languages, though it does come into play. In Indonesian, in extended deixis, datang is preferred in 24 and 25.

24. Apakah kamu akan {datang / pergi} ke rumahku ?
QM you Fut. {come / go} to house my
"Are you coming/going to my house?"

25. Bolehkah saya {datang / pergi} ke rumah - mu ?
may I {come / go} to house your
"May I come/go to your house?"

In English, German, and Turkish, idnetification with one's home (which Fillmore (1971) calls the "home base" when discussing English) makes "come" acceptable in the past tense:

26. a. I'm sorry I wasn't home when you/John came to my house last week.
b. There wasn't anybody home when I/John came to your house last week.

27. a. Entschuldige ich war nicht zu Haus als John kam letzte Woche.
"I'm sorry I wasn't at home when John came last week."
b. Es war niemand zu Haus als John zu Ihrem Haus kam.
"Nobody was at home when John came to your house."

28. a. Gečen hafta biz - e gel - di - ğ - in - de, ev - de
last week we to come past you when house at
ol - ma - dı - ğ - ım - a cok üzül - dü - m .
be Neg. past I for very be sorry - past - I
"I was very sorry that I wasn't at home when you came last week."

b. Dün akšam John gel - di - ğ - in - de neden ev - de
yes- eve. come past when why house at
terday
de - ğ - il - di - n ?
Neg. be past you
"Why weren't you at home when John came last night?"

but it is somewhat questionable in the present, or future, when it is understood that the speaker will not be present.

29. ?? Are you coming to my house tonight?

30 ?? Kommen Sie heute in meine Haus?

31. ?? John bu akšam ban - a gel - iyor mu ?
this eve. I to come Prog. QM
"Is John coming to my house this evening?"

In Nepali, the choice of aunu for similar sentences over jānu hinges on the degree of intimacy between the speaker and hearer. Thus, 32,

32. māph garnus asti tapaĩ makahã āunubho ma thiina
pardon do other day you me to came I wasn't
"Pardon me for not being home the other day when you came."

can be said to a very good friend, or to show friendliness, while jānubho ("went") would be used in speech to someone with whom one is less familiar.

Besides the presuppositions related to the speaker's or addressee's involvement in the GOAL, there is another significant presuppositional feature in extended deixis. It has to do with accompaniment by the speaker or the addressee with the "mover." Nine of the eleven languages allow the use of "come" with some sense of accompaniment involved. The three languages above that have the speaker as the unique center in immediate deixis, Spanish, Japanese, and Thai, allow only the accompaniment by the speaker to combine with MOVE and conflate into "come."

33. ¿Quieres venir a una fiesta (conmigo)?
"Do you want to come to a party (with me)?"

Pregúntale a Juan si puede venir a la fiesta (conmigo).
"Ask Juan if he can come to the party (with me)."

34. Watashi wa kore kara ikimasu; anata mo kitai N'
I Top. this from go you also come desire
desu ka ?
QM
"I'm going right now; do you want to come also?"

John wa ima (watashi (-tashi) to) eiga ni kimasu ka ?
Top. now I pl. with movie to come QM
"Is John coming to the movie (with me (us)) now?"

35. ja mah tì bàn (kap c^{h}án) máy ?
Fut. come to house with me QM
"Will you come to my house (with me)?"

For Japanese, one informant feels that the use of kuru under this condition implies that the speaker's actions are primary, and those of the second or third party are secondary. For instance, the speaker may have to take care of the other and be responsible for his actions. If the two parties are on an equal level, then the choice of iku ("go") is preferred by this speaker.

In English, German, Nepali, Croatian, Tamil, and Turkish the presupposition of accompaniment by the speaker or the addressee triggers the use of "come." Under these circumstances, consider the following:

36.
a. Are you coming (with me)?
b. Is John coming (with me)?
c. Can I come (with you)?
d. * Is John coming (with you)?

37. German:
    a. Kommst Du ins Kino?
       "Are you coming to the movie?"
    b. Kommt John ins Kino?
       "Is John coming to the movie?"
    c. Kann ich ins Kino kommen (mit Dir)?
       "Can I come to the movie (with you)?"
    d. * Kommt John ins Kino (mit Dir)?
       "Is John coming to the movie (with you)?"

38. Nepali:
    a. ke tapāĩ (ma - sanga) ahile sinmā āũne ho ta ?
       QM you I with now cinema come be,pres.
       "Are you coming to the movie (with me) now?"
    b. ke John (ma - sanga) ahile sinmā āũ - dai - chha ?
       QM I with now cinema come 3 p. sg.
       "Is John coming to the movie (with me) now?"
    c. ke ma (tapāĩ sanga) ahile sinmā herna āũ ?
       QM I you with now cinema see come
       "May I come to see the movie (with you) now?"
    d. ? ke John (timi sanga) ahile sinmā āũ - dai - chha?
         QM you with now cinema come 3 p.
         "Is John coming to the movie (with you) now?"

39. Croatian:
    a. Hoćeš li doći (samnom) u kino ?
       you want QM come with me to cinema
       "Do you want to come to the cinema (with me)?"
    b. ? Da li Ivan dolazi (samnom) u kino ?
         QM come with me to cinema
         "Is Ivan coming to the cinema (with me)?"
    c. Mogu li doći (s tobom) u kino ?
       may I QM come with you to cinema
       "May I come to the cinema (with you)?"
    d. * Da li Ivan dolazi u kino (s tobom) ?
         QM come to cinema with you
         "Is Ivan coming to the cinema (with you)?"

40. Tamil:
    a. Nee (ennoda) padar - thuku wariah ?
       you with me picture to come
       "Are you coming to the picture (with me)?"
    b. John (ennoda) padar - thuku waruharah ?
         with me picture to come
       "Is John coming to the picture (with me)?"
    c. Nan (unnoda) padar - thuku waralama ?
       I with you picture to come may
       "May I come to the picture (with you)?"

d. ?? John (unnoda) padar - thuku waruharah ?
with you picture to come
"Is John coming to the picture (with you)?"

41. Turkish:
a. (Ben - im - le) gel .
I with come
"Come with me."
b. John ben - im araba - n - da gel - iyor.
I Poss. car in come Prog.
"John's coming in my car."
c. Sen - in araba - n - da gel - e - bil - ir - mi - y - im ?
you Poss. car in come can Pres. QM I p. sg.
"Can I come in your car?"
d. Mary sen - in araba - n - da gel - iyor.
you Poss. car in come Prog.
"Mary's coming in your car."

We can see from the c. and d. sentences for all the above languages except Turkish that when the presupposition is that the addressee will accompany the person asserted to be moving, the assertion must be about the speaker, not about a third person. For most of the above languages, when the speaker is presupposed to be the accompanier, either the addressee or a third person can be asserted to be moving with "come."

For some of the languages, this use of "come" is appropriate only when the movement is about to take place -- e.g., when the mover is ready to go out the door. These include Japanese, Thai, Nepali, and Croatian, and this imminence may affect the other languages to a greater or lesser degree also. This is a question that can be answered only through further research.

The two languages that we have examined that do not allow for the accompaniment use of "come" are Indonesian and Mandarin. In Indonesian, as we have seen, datang is used when the emphasis is on arrival at the destination, and pergi for emphasis on leaving one's initial location. For this reason, when the question to be asked is, e.g.,

42. Apakah kamu akan (pergi) ke bioskop dengan saya ?
QM you Fut. go to cinema with me
"Are you going with me to the movie?"

the choice of pergi is much more likely, since the emphasis is on both parties leaving together. One speaker felt that the use of datang in such sentences would have to mean that the speaker and the addressee would meet half way to the theater, almost as if they were closer to arriving than leaving.

For Mandarin, a l of my informants found all extended deixis sentences with lai ("come") unacceptable. There is a reference in Fillmore (1971), however, to Mandarin, in which he reports that his informant allows, e.g., "Will you come/go with me," but not "Can I go with you?"

If this is true, it is consistent with two of my informants' contention that Mandarin allows only the speaker as center in immediate deixis, and it indicates that even Mandarin might allow the accompaniment interpretation for "come."

The overt presence of "with me" or "with you" in sentences under these conditions affects the choice of verb in these languages in different, and quite bewildering, fashions. For some languages, the assertion of one or the other of these two more or less collapses the distinction between the meanings of "come" and "go" in those sentences. For others, speakers express preferences for one of the verbs over the other, and they do not always prefer the same verb in statements with "with me" as they do in statements with "with you." Speakers' general preferences for verbs in the four accompaniment situations are as in Table I.

It is difficult to assess the judgments found in Table I. One thing that appears clear is that for any language in which speakers expressed preference for one verb over the other, they were more likely to prefer "come" the farther left it appears in the chart, and "go" the farther right. The two columns on the left represent the cases in which both speech participants are involved in the movement; the two on the right are cases in which only one of them is involved.

It appears to me that the process of choosing "come" or "go" in these accompaniment cases is as follows. The assertion of "with me" or "with you" makes overt the presupposition that is carried covertly by the verb "come." By the assertion of these elements, the distinction between "come" and "go" becomes neutralized. In choosing one of the verbs, however, speakers in some languages, and, perhaps to some degree in all languages, draw on the features of intimacy, imminency, and closeness, which seem to play a role in the choice of verb in most marginal cases. It appears here that the feature of intimacy is the one that in this case leads speakers to prefer "come" in the cases between the speech participants, but less so in those cases where a third party is involved.

These presuppositional components of intimacy, imminence, and closeness appear to affect the choice of "come" or "go" in other contexts, too. For example, English usually does not allow "come" for cases in which the addressee is presupposed to be present at the GOAL at T_r (and it is known that the speaker will not be there) and the assertion is about a third person, e.g.,

43. Is John $\begin{matrix}\text{going}\\ *\text{coming}\end{matrix}$ to the luncheon tomorrow?

However, if the speaker has some special interest, or wants to express interest, in what the addressee is doing, or in the success of the luncheon, he might use <u>come</u> in 43. Similarly, if it is presupposed that the speaker will be going to France (-close) in 1980 (-imminent), he is less likely to use <u>come</u> in a question like

44. Will you come/go to France with me in 1980?

Language	Person Asserted to be Moving, and Accompanier			
	a. addressee with speaker ("you with me")	b. speaker with addressee ("I with you")	c. other with speaker ("he with me")	d. other with addressee ("he with you")
Spanish	come ~ go ("come" more inviting, more intimate)	--[9]	come = go	--
Japanese	go	--	go	--
Thai	come ~ go ("come" more inviting, more intimate)	--	go	--
English	come = go	come = go	come = go	--
Croatian	come ~ go ("come" more inviting, more intimate)	come ~ go ("come" pleading, as a child might do)	go	--
German	come	come = go	come = go	--
Nepali	come	come = go ?	go	--
Tamil	come = go	come = go	come = go	--
Turkish	come	come	come ("go" is less awkward than in columns a.& b.)	come = go

Table I

Affects of the explicit use of "with me" or "with you" on choice of "come" vs. "go"

than in, say,

45. Will you come/go to the dance with me tonight?"

One speaker of English commented that she would be less likely in the non-immediate deictic context to use "come" in 46 than in 47:

46. Are you coming/going to the movie tomorrow?

47. Are you coming to the movie this afternoon?

Conclusion

The analysis presented here of the uses of "come" and "go" in these eleven languages is by no means complete and flawless. It is merely a beginning, and there are many details that have yet to be filled in. Some of those details will have to be worked out by people who are much more familiar with these languages than I am. I suspect that it is probably the case that often the particular presuppositional components used in a given language for "come" and "go" are pertinent in that language because they play a role elsewhere in the system.

There are many things that have been left untouched here. Among them is an analysis of bring and take, the causative counterparts of come and go. Fillmore (1971) points out that bring is not used under the same conditions as come in all dialects of English. I think that an analysis of the causative verbs bring and take in the framework given here for come and go will explain this. Because extended deixis in English allows come with several different presuppositional components, I believe that we will find that some speakers of English tend to use bring as a conflation of the semantic components in 48:

48. CAUSE (X MOVE TO GOAL (at T_i))
GOAL: {(+speaker presence) / (+addressee presence)}

while other speakers use bring as a conflation of the components in 49:

49. CAUSE (X MOVE TO GOAL (at T_i)).
X: {(+acc. by speaker) / (+acc. by addressee)}

At any rate, it is evident that the uses of deictic verbs in the languages presented here can be specified in terms of quite a small number of semantic components, some of which are assertional and some of which are presuppositional. Only future research can reveal to what extent these components are universal, and further work is needed also to determine why, in any given language, a particular subset of these components for "come" and "go" is used.

Footnotes

1 I would like to thank the following informants for their time and patience: Norman Anthony, Karen Booker, Vera Franc-Firak, Geoff Gathercole, Dang Godden, Santiago Hevia, Yoshiko Kage, Pornthip Krairussamee, Judy and Tim Kwok, Raphael Lui, Felicitas Moos, Bertha Rodriguez, Fudiat Suryadikara, Robert Wannee, Kimiko Yamamoto, Ramawater Yadav, and Feryal and Mehmet Yavas.

2 Fillmore 1971, p. 38.

3 The discussion here is largely from Talmy 1975, pp. 181-87.

4 "CONFLATION will refer, loosely, to any syntactic process -- whether a long derivation involving many deletions and insertions, or just a single lexical insertion -- whereby a more complex construction turns into a simpler one." Talmy, p. 207.

5 Throughout this paper, "come" and "go" will refer to the verbs in any language which are roughly translatable into English as <u>come</u> and <u>go</u>. Actual lexical items of particular languages will always be underlined.

6 Talmy, p. 207.

7 One native speaker of Indonesian feels that a verb is obligatory in these sentences, but he admits that he hears others leaving the verbs out. However, this speaker's father is Japanese and his mother speaks Dutch. Some of his responses, where they differed from the other Indonesian informant, were very similar to Japanese.

8 Fillmore also reports that Albanian allows "Can you come with me?" but not "Can I come with you?" From this we can infer that Albanian also allows only speaker-centered immediate deixis. Fillmore, 1971, pp. 67, 68.

9 "--" indicates that "come" is never chosen here, for reasons given elsewhere in this paper.

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